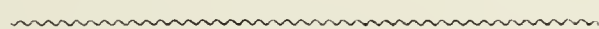


way as malt is produced, slightly parched barley steeped in curds and diluted butter milk, and coarse powder of the same steeped in whey. After proper fermentation, this was distilled in the usual way, and the liquor produced was poured in oblations on the sacred fire in lieu of the soma beer. The *Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa* supplies a number of mantras for the preparation of the liquor, but I can nowhere find any description of the still in which the distillation was effected. Kátyáyana recommends that the different articles required for the manufacture of the liquor should be obtained by barter, and not by purchase with coins. In the Sautrámani rite, the offering of the liquor should be preceded by the immolation of three animals, a bull being one of them. The worshippers were required to partake of the remnant of the offerings, as the ceremony would be incomplete without the repast.



On the History of Pegu.—By Major-General SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE,
K. C. S. I., C. B.

The chief authority which has been followed in this sketch of the history of Pegu, is a narrative written in the Taláing, or Mun, language by Tsha-yá-dán A-thwá, a Buddhist monk. It was derived from ancient records and traditions, and was translated into Burmese by Máung Shwé Kyá, a learned Taláing. The chronology of the narrative is very confused, though the most important date, that of the foundation of the city of Pegu, is correctly stated. Neither the author nor the translator, however, has attempted to correct the manifest errors which exist. In this paper, the dates of the more prominent events in early times have been rectified by me from contemporary Burmese history; and in later times, from the accounts of European travellers. The few particulars which can be gathered regarding the history of Tha-htun, the most ancient city on the coast of Pegu, have been placed at my disposal by Mr. St. Andrew St. John, Assistant-Commissioner in British Burma. They were derived from MSS. in his possession. I have also had the advantage of consulting an essay in the Burmese language, on the same subject written by Máung Byan, a Taláing gentleman of ancient family. This was procured for me by Colonel D. Brown, Commissioner in Tenasserim. I have read what has been written on the ancient history of Pegu by the Reverend Dr. Mason, in his excellent work on Burma; and have consulted the Gazetteer of Pegu, edited by Major M. Lloyd, Deputy Commissioner. The notices of events in Burma and Pegu by the old Portuguese voyagers, as narrated in the lucid general summary by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, and the valuable edition of the travels of Nicolo Conti in the early

part of the fifteenth century, by Mr. R. H. Major, together with other travels by Europeans, in that and the following century, have been used to correct, or to confirm, the statements in the native annals.

The country now called Pegu, or as written by the natives Bagó and Pégu, consisted in ancient times of the delta of the E-rá-wa-ti, and the land in the lower courses of the rivers Sit-táung and Thán-lwin (Salwin). At different times the coast as far south as the Tenasserim River has been subject to the monarchy; while to the north the limits of the kingdom varied according to the power of the kings to defend their territory from the Burmese. The northern boundary on the Eráwati River, may as a general rule be fixed at A-káuk Táung, about thirty miles below the town of Prome. In remote times, and long before the foundation of the city of Pegu, from which the name of the whole country was afterwards derived, the sea coast from the mouth of the Pa-thin (Bassein) River, near Cape Negrais, to the mouth of the Thán-lwin, (Salwin) was known as Rá-ma-nya, or the country of Ráma. This shows an Indian influence.* The classic name for the town of Maulamyaing (Moulmein) is still Rámapura, though this may have been transferred to it from a city once existing near the present Rangun. The country of Pegu was afterwards called Hán-thá-wa-ti, which is still the classic name, and the origin and meaning of which will presently appear. The etymology of the word Maulamyaing, which is the Burmese form of the Taláing name Mut-mwa-lem, signifies "one-eye-destroyed;" the tradition being that it was founded by a king having a third eye in the centre of his forehead, which was destroyed by the machination of a woman. This story, as Dr. Mason observes, suggests the legend of Siva. And though this appears at first sight to clash with the classic name Rámapura, yet from the history of Pegu, it is evident that during successive periods, the country participated in the religious revolutions of the Budhists and various Hindu sects, through which the neighbouring coast of India passed.

The earliest notice of Rámanya which can be accepted as historical is derived from a Buddhist source, the Mahávanso of Ceylon. Therein is recorded the deputation of the great missionaries, Sono and Uttaro, (Thauna and Uttara), by the third Buddhist synod, held at Pataliput, B. C. 241. They were sent to the country called Suvarna bhumi, (Thumanna bhumi), or "golden land," to preach the great reform determined on by the synod. The name given to the country was the Pali designation of the portion of Rámanya of which Tha-htun was the capital. The ruins of Tha-htun still exist on a small stream about ten miles from the seashore, and forty-four miles travelling distance N. N. W. from Martaban (Muttama). The city appears to have been laid out on the general plan of ancient Indian cities,

* The island of Ramri, or more properly Ram-byi (country of Ráma), shows the same influence.

and which has been followed in the modern capital of Burma. The ground plan of the outer rampart is a square or oblong, within which is an open space of about a hundred and fifty feet, and then a second but lower wall or rampart, and moat. The east and west inner walls are each 7700 feet long; while those on the north and south are about 4000 feet each, enclosing a space of about seven hundred acres. The angles, however, are not exact right angles. In the centre of the city is the fortified royal citadel, measuring from north to south 1080 feet, and from east to west 1150 feet. This was for the defence of the palace, the "throne room" being, as is now the case at the Burmese capital, nearly the central point of the city. There are two gates, or spaces for entrance, in the northern and southern faces of the rampart, but it is impossible to say how many on the eastern and western. Such is the description given by Mr. St. John of the present appearance of Tha-htun. The position of the city with reference to the approach from sea, is now not suitable for a port. But there is strong probability that a gradual rise of the land, including all the adjoining gulf of Martaban, has been going on for several centuries, which has destroyed the port. With this change of level it is probable that the influx of tide, called "the bore," is now more violent near the mouth of the river Thit-taung (Sittang), than it was two thousand years ago.

The traditions as well as the scanty historical notices which remain regarding Tha-htun, show that it was founded by Indian colonists. One tradition is, that the original colonists came from Thu-binga in the country of Ka-ra-náka, or Karanatta. By some this is made to refer to the founding of Maulamyang. It may, however, be accepted as certain that people from what is now called the Coromandel Coast, established at an early period, possibly a thousand years before the Christian era, one or more trading stations on the coast of Pegu. That Tha-htun had risen to some importance as a city in the third century before Christ, is shown from its having had allotted to it missionaries at a synod held under the influence of the Buddhist Constantine Asoka. The name Suvarnabhumi, or "golden land," by which the country was then known in India, probably refers to gold being exported in great quantity from the emporium. Gold, no doubt, was brought from Yunan down the Eráwati River at a very early period. It continued to be an article of commerce from the same country until within the last sixteen or eighteen years, since which the trade has been interrupted.* There is also an old gold "diggings" about a hundred and twenty miles distant from Tha-htun on the Paung-laung or Sit-taung River. The town is still

* In a note on the metals of Burma by Dr. T. Oldham, published in Yule's *Mission to Ava*, it is stated on good authority, that the annual amount of gold brought from China (Yunan) overland to Ava for some years before 1855 was 1100 lbs. weight. In one year, 1800 lbs. weight was imported.

called in Burmese *Shwégyin*, or “gold sifting place.” Gold is indeed still found there, but not in sufficient quantity to be remunerative, except to very poor people. These facts appear to explain satisfactorily the classic name of the country. The name *Tha-htun* is derived from vernacular words having the same signification.

One of the early Buddhist legends referred to by the native historians is to be found recorded in books still existing in the monasteries of Ceylon.* Two merchants from *Thuwanna bhumi*, named *Tapassu* and *Bhallaka*, had gone on a trading expedition to Northern India. On returning with their waggons of merchandise to reach the sea coast, they passed through *Magadha*, where *Budha* was absorbed in meditation and in the seventh week of his fasting, in the *Kiripalu* forest. The merchants made an offering of honey to *Budha*, who, at their request, bestowed on them eight hairs of his head as relics. These they brought to their own country, which are now believed to be enshrined in the *Shwé Dagon* pagoda at *Rangun*. This legend may be accepted as showing that at an early period, the Indian merchants of *Suvarnabhumi* traded to Upper India, and were considered a community of sufficient importance to have attributed to two of their body the honour of a personal interview with *Budha*. At a later period, the commercial importance of *Suvarnabhumi* is shown from the emporium *Subara* appearing in *Ptolemy's* list of places on this coast, as has been pointed out by *Colonel Yule*.

Concerning the first building of *Tha-htun*, it is related that before *Gautama* appeared, there reigned a certain king *Ti-tha*, in the city of *Thu-bin-na* (or *Thu-bin-ga*), in the country of *Karanaka*. He had two sons *Ti-tha Kummá* and *Dzá-ya Kummá*. The young princes determined to abandon the world and become hermits. They, therefore, left their home, and went to dwell on separate mountains, near the seaside, described as being not far from the future site of the city of *Tha-htun*. The whole country was then forest. Once when walking on the seashore, the brother hermits found two eggs, which had been deposited and abandoned by a female dragon, who came up out of the sea. The hermits carried away the eggs, from which in due time issued forth two male children. The hermits brought up the boys, one of whom died at ten years of age; but being born again in *Mit-ti-la*, about the time of the appearance of the lord *Gau-ta-ma*, became, while yet a child, one of his disciples. The boy, produced from the egg taken by the elder hermit, lived in the forest until he was seventeen years of age, when by the help of *Tha-kya*,† he built the city of *Thuwanna-bhumi*, called also *Tha-htun*, and reigned with the title of *Thiha Rá-dzá*. By the intercession of him who, in a former birth, had been his younger brother, but had now risen

* See *Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, page 182.

† *Sakra*, the chief of the second *dewaloka*, or heavenly region, answering to *Indra* in Hindu mythology.

to a Rahánda, the lord Gautama himself came through the air and visited Tha-htun. This was thirty-seven years before he entered Nirvána. The country is spoken of reproachfully as a land where fishermen and hunters abound, these being callings opposed to the tenets of Buddhism. But the king and the people of the city listen to the preaching of Buddha, and the future greatness of the country is predicted. But though the people immediately around the city were well disposed, those at a distance were savage and resentful. It is related how the great teacher, attempting to land near the mouth of the Than-lwin river, was stoned by the Bhí-lús and evil Náts who dwelt there. In these words is shadowed forth the rejection of Buddhist doctrine by the native inhabitants, who afterwards became distinguished for their religious zeal.

From this time the historians of Tha-htun profess to have a list of all the kings who reigned in Thuwanna bhumi, distinct from the kings of Pegu. It is now impossible to decide how much of this list is historical and how much fictitious, until near the time of the destruction of the monarchy in the eleventh century of the Christian era. Tha-htun was then taken and destroyed by Anaurahtá, king of Pu-gán; and the king Manú-ha, with his whole family, the nobles, monks, artificers, mechanics, and skilled workmen of every description, were carried away captive. There are the names of fifty-nine kings in the list, who are said to have reigned for sixteen hundred and eighty-three years. The events of their reigns are discreetly veiled under the obscure phraseology of metrical lines. By the chronology it seems to be intended that the reign of the son of the first king Thi-ha Rádzá, commenced in the year that Gautama attained Nirvána. Taking this as a starting point and accepting the Burmese era of religion as commencing 543 B. C., then, as Thi-ha Rádzá is said to have reigned sixty years, we find the year 603 B. C. as the commencement of the monarchy. This would give the year 1080 A. D. as the year of its destruction by Anaurahtá. The time thus deduced for the latter event does not differ very much, considering all things, from the Burmese account. Anaurahtá, according to the Mahá Rádzáweng, ascended the throne of Pugán in the year 1017, A. D., and reigned forty-two years. Within that period therefore he captured Tha-htun. The list of the kings as given in the native chronicles is added. But it is not considered to have any historical value, except as a generally correct representation of the existence of the monarchy, and its destruction with the city, about the period stated, by the Burmese king.

Among the few facts recorded in the native annals of Tha-htun which need be mentioned here, is the arrival of the great missionaries Thauna and Uttara, which is put down as having occurred in the year 223 of religion, being 320 B. C., instead of the true date 241 B. C. On their arrival, they and their disciples were denounced by the existing teachers as bhíl-ús,

or monsters, the name here bestowed upon heretics and scoffers. They were violently opposed and beaten with sticks. But the mild demeanour of the Rahándas gradually made their authority prevail. The people were won over to believe them, and new-born children were named after them. The pagodas which had long been neglected and round which jungle had grown up, were repaired. Pleasant gardens were now planted for the resort of the religious, and the reformed doctrines were triumphant.

The only other event of importance which is mentioned in the history of Tha-htun is the introduction of the Pi-ta-kát, or books of the Buddhist scriptures, by Budhaghosa. This event, so important to all the Indo-Chinese nations, is noticed by the Right Reverend Bishop Bigandet in his valuable "Life or Legend of Gautama," and the date therein ascribed to it, from Talaing or Burmese authority, is A. D. 400. Up to a recent period, the histories written by Taláings or Burmans represented Budhaghosa as a great Rahán of Tha-htun, who went to Ceylon, and brought from thence the sacred books to his native land. This statement has, however, been corrected in the latest edition of the Burmese national history (*Mahá Rádzáweng*), which was written, or revised, in the palace at Amarapura about forty years ago. The story of Budhaghosa is therein correctly told, and has apparently been derived from the *Mahávanso* of Ceylon. The date assigned for Budhaghosa's voyage to Tha-htun is A. D. 403.* Even the Taláing writers, long jealous for the honour of their country, seem now to acknowledge their error as to the birthplace of their great teacher. In a late paper by a learned Talaing which I have perused, it is acknowledged that there are two accounts regarding Budhaghosa; and it is only argued that in returning from Ceylon to the continent of India, he may have come by ship to Tha-htun, and revived by his presence the drooping flower, religion. That Tha-htun was his native place, seems to be silently abandoned.

All that can be gathered of the early history of Tha-htun has now been noticed. The only explanation which can be offered for the entire absence of trustworthy ancient documents, and the want of details with any historic value, is the ruthless destruction of everything by Anaurahtá, king of Burma, in the eleventh century of the Christian era.† All that was moveable and worth removing, was then carried away to Pugán, and though Tha-htun still remained as a port, to which perhaps a few foreign ships resorted, the bulk of the trade passed to the city of Pegu; or was two or three centuries later established at Mut-ta-ma (Martaban).

* In Max Müller's introduction to Captain Rogers' parables of Buddhaghosa, the period between A. D. 410 and 432 is stated as being that of the literary activity of the great teacher in Ceylon.

† See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1868, on 'History of the Burma race.'

It is now time to turn to the history of Pegu. This country became known to Europeans in the fifteenth century when it was a powerful kingdom. Afterwards it long existed as a mere "geographical expression," but under other influences is once more rising to commercial greatness.

Concerning the foundation of the city of Pegu the legends relate that at the time when the lord Gautama came through the air, attended by thousands of Rahándas to visit the king of Tha-htun, the sea flowed over the whole of the low country, now occupied by Rangun and Pegu. After preaching to the king and people of Tha-htun, Budha returned through the air to go to the middle land. When passing over the sea, a small sandbank appeared, which rose above the surface of the water, shining like a silver islet; and there the lord beheld a pair of golden *hásas*.* He then predicted that hereafter a great city and country would arise in that spot; for wherever golden *hásas* resort, to feed and enjoy themselves, happiness and a great future are sure to follow in the land. The country, it was predicted, was to be called 'Hantháwati.' These birds were supposed to live on a beautiful lake in the midst of the Himálaya, which region was, in the imaginations of the tropic-dwelling Taláings, invested with the grandeur of immensity, not unmixed with gloom. There all kinds of lotus flowers of various colours rested on the water, amidst which, never disturbed by man, the birds slept at night, and came to their far off feeding place in the morning.

Now it so happened, according to the divine prediction, more than nine hundred years after the lord had entered Nirvána, that the silvery sandbank

* The *hánasa*, or *hentha*, is still the sacred bird of Pegu. Much discussion has arisen as to its identity. It is not a native bird of the country. The Burmese and Taláings refer to the Himálaya region as its home, and while supposing it to be a superior order of wild duck or goose, describe it in such glowing but unscientific terms, that an ornithologist would be puzzled how to classify it. Spence Hardy in his "Manual of Buddhism," when mentioning *hásas* as inhabiting the Himálaya according to the Buddhist geography, observes: "This is regarded as the king of birds, and by Europeans is generally supposed to be the golden winged swan." Colonel Yule, in his narrative of the Mission to Ava in 1855, suggests that it may be "a mythicised swan." Mr. T. T. Cooper in his book of enterprising travel to the frontier of Eastern Tibet has the following passage, which may be accepted as indicating the bird referred to in the legend. "The large yellow wild duck is met with on all the Thibetan streams and mountain pools at a great elevation. These ducks were precisely similar to the brahmini ducks of the upper waters of the Brahmaputra. I was anxious to secure a specimen and fired at the first I saw, but luckily missed, for a Lama who was with us, rushed up in great consternation. The yellow ducks were sacred to the grand Lama, and to kill one would be a great crime, even to have fired at the sacred bird was an offence." These birds are represented in the "boat scene" of Sakya's death, carved in bas-relief at Sanchi (See Cunningham's *Bhilsa topes*, Plate XI.) One of them represents a former existence of Gautama's, and probably also of the future Budha Arimateya.

had risen up, so as to be plainly visible above the surface of the sea. A foreign ship which came from the city of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran, had been on a trading voyage to Tha-htun, and in returning passed near the sandbank. The tide was falling and the sailors saw a number of golden *hánthas* feeding and disporting themselves after their kind. One pair was conspicuous above the rest. The sailors looked and wondered. When they reached their own country, they related what they had seen. Their story reached the king Ban-du-rá-reng. The king's teacher being a man of learning, well read in the scriptures, knew that the lord Gautama had been to that country, and that what had been seen by the sailors was an omen of its future greatness. By his advice, the king determined to secure for his descendants the spot where the *hánthas* had been seen. He, therefore, had a stone pillar engraved with his name and title. This was conveyed in a ship to the spot, and deposited in the sea, close to the silvery sandbank. After this, when one hundred and sixty years had passed, the silvery sandbank had risen much higher and become firm land. King Banduráreng had passed away, and his grandson Ku-wá-tha Ná-reng now reigned. He knowing all that had occurred, sent a ship under a wise man of high rank to make search for the stone pillar deposited by his grandfather, and so to prove his right to the land.

Now at this time A-din-na Rádzá was king of Tha-htun. He was jealous for religion, and had succeeded his father Thin-na-geng-ga to the exclusion of two half-brothers, whose succession had been favoured by his father during his lifetime. The story of their birth is thus told. On the sea-shore, far from the habitations of men, a female dragon came and laid an egg. A hermit who dwelt in a cave hard by, found the egg and took it to his home. In seven days a female child was produced from the egg, who was brought up by the hermit. When grown up, she was married to king Thin-na-geng-ga, and raised to the rank of chief queen. She gave birth to two sons, who were named Thamala and Wimala. The queen, notwithstanding her beauty and the high favour of the king, was always an object of aversion among the nobles of the court, though it was not then known that she was of the Nága or dragon race. This was discovered by the sagacity of the king's teacher, and she then died suddenly in a very mysterious manner. Her two sons were sent away to the hermit, who was called their grandfather, and who brought them up in the forest. On the death of their father, another son of his, called A-din-na Rádzá, succeeded to the throne. The two young princes, by the advice of the hermit, determined to build a city for themselves to the west, on the land where the hermit knew the golden hánsas used to feed, and where the lord Gautama had predicted that a great city would arise. They, therefore, collected one hundred and seventy families from the country of Tha-htun, and embarked them on bamboo rafts, ten families on

each. They floated down the stream on the banks of which the rafts had been made, and after many perils, reached the spot where the city Han-thá-wa-ti was to be built. Some people who dwelt on the west side of the river, numbering in all three hundred and thirty families, now joined the two princes, who thus had with them in all five hundred families. When they were considering how to lay out the city, they were suddenly joined by two venerable men, who were Tha-kya Meng (Sekra, or Indra), and an attendant *deva*. They appeared in the guise of carpenters, with instruments, measures, and ropes, and offered to help the princes. This offer was accepted with joy; but when they were about to measure the ground, the nobleman who had been sent by the king of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran appeared with his followers, and claimed the ground for his master. The two princes replied saying, "You are foreigners, you have no right to our native land." The nobleman answered that when thirteen fathoms of water existed over the spot, an ironstone pillar, with the name, title, and seal of the king of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran had been placed there. The disguised Tha-gya Meng now replied for the princes that a golden pillar had been placed in that spot before the stone-pillar had been deposited, on which their names were inscribed, and it would be found deeper down than the other. It was argued, therefore, to dig for the pillars, and the right to the land was to be determined by the ownership of the older pillar. Now Tha-gya Meng foresaw by his superior sagacity that, if western foreigners were to be supreme in this land, false heretical opinions would arise; whereas the divine prediction was, that true religion was to be built up; the *bidagát* (*pitakattaya*) was to be recited and revered, and holy relics were to be worshipped. He, therefore, created a golden pillar, on which were inscribed the names of former kings of Tha-htun, and by his power it was conveyed under ground ten fathoms beneath the stone pillar of the Kulás (western foreigners). So when they assembled to dig, and the Kulás had found their stone pillar, Tha-gya Meng said, "Yours is true, but it was placed after ours, which is deeper down, and by which our claim will be proved." The Kulás replied, "If you have an inscribed pillar beneath ours, we will acknowledge ourselves defeated." Then they dug down, and lo! at ten fathoms depth was found a golden pillar, with a date more ancient than that on the stone pillar. The Kulás then acknowledged themselves defeated, and went away taking their stone pillar with them. The spot where the golden pillar was found, being the place where the golden *hásas* fed, was made the centre from which the city was marked out. Tha-gya Meng measured the ground with a rope on which pearls were strung, so that the land might be sacred, and set apart for ever, free from the rule and ownership of foreigners, or any but its own princes. The golden pillar was moved a little to the south, and a pagoda was then built within which it was enshrined, and in memory of the defeat of the

foreigners it was called, in the Mun language, *Kyaik-tsa-né*, and in Burmese *Ranáung-myin-phrá*.* The city was founded in the year of the lord's Nirvána 1116, being equivalent to A. D. 573. *Thá-ma-la Kummá*, the elder of the two brothers, was now consecrated king.

In the story of the foundation of the city of Pegu, and the events which led to it, we appear to have the legendary version of the struggle for ascendancy between Brahman and Buddhist. This struggle was still going on in parts of Southern India in the sixth century of the Christian era, and it would no doubt be extended to the colonies and settlements on the coast of *Rámanya*. The kings of *Tha-htun* and the principal citizens were of Indian descent, and they probably participated in the changes which were going on in the parent country. The foundation of Pegu, by emigrants of *Tha-htun*, tells both of a dynasty and perhaps a religious quarrel. The Buddhist party eventually successful, represent the founders of Pegu as being of their faith, and their opponents as heretics and foreigners, though the latter reproach was probably the feeling of a later period. One cause of the separation for *Tha-htun* appears to have been the *Nága*, dragon or snake, worship, which, as has been shown by Mr. Fergusson in his learned work, extensively prevailed about this time in India; and the founders of Pegu are stated to have been of *Nága* descent or, in other words, had added snake worship to the reverence, which, by the precepts of Buddhism, should be shown only to the memory or relics of Budha. If this be so, the reform in their worship was made, as was the case in Burma, at a later period. From tradition and such scanty historical notices as have survived, we are led to look to the east coast of India, and especially to the country in the lower courses of the rivers *Kistna* and *Godávarí*, with the adjoining districts, in other words ancient *Kalinga* and *Talingána*, as the countries which at a very early period traded with and colonized the coast of Pegu. The people of Pegu are known to the Burmese, to the Indians, and thence to Europeans, by the name *Taláing*. This word is derived from *Talingána*, and the name which was strictly applicable only to the foreign settlers, has in the course of time become applied to the whole people. As has already been stated, they call themselves *Mon*, *Mun*, or *Mwun*, a word which will hereafter be considered. The names given in the histories of *Tha-htun* and Pegu to the first kings of those cities are Indian; but they cannot be accepted as being historically true. The countries from which the kings are said to have derived their origin are *Karannáka*, *Kalinga*, *Thubinga*, and *Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran*. These may be recognised as *Karnáta*, *Kalinga*, *Venga*, and *Vizianagaram*, on the south-eastern coast of India. The last has, in after times, probably

* The classic name of the city *Hen-thá-wa-ti*, or *Han-sá-wa-ti*, has already been explained. The common name, Pegu or *Ba-go*, is said to mean in the Mun language "conquered by stratagem," alluding to the incident above related.

been mistaken for the more famous Vijayanagar, the modern city on the Tambudra river. The word Talingána never occurs in the Peguan histories, but only the more ancient name Kalinga. The names of the more prominent kings of Tha-htun and Pegu, all occur in Indian lists, and have probably been selected as pertaining to orthodox Budhists, or as being famous in early legend. Thus king Tiktha, Ti-tha, or Tissa, of Karannáka, whose sons are represented as first coming to Tha-htun, is probably the name of Asoka's brother Tishya. The name frequently occurs among the early Buddhist-kings of Ceylon. The elder son is called after his father with the affix Kummá; while the name of the younger Dzá-ya, is apparently Ja-ya Sinha, the founder of the Chalukya race in Talingána, whom Sir Walter Elliot* supposes to have lived in the early part of the fifth century of the Christian era, and Mr. Fergusson about a century later. The eastern branch of this line reigned in Vengidesa, which comprised the districts between the Godávarí and the Kistna, below the Gháts, and eventually fixed their capital at Rájamahendri. In the history of Tha-htun, though the two sons of king Tiktha become hermits, they adopt two sons, one of whom builds the city of Tha-htun, and reigns there under the title of Thi-ha Rádzá. This name is probably derived from that of Raja Sinha, the posthumous son of Jaya Sinha above mentioned, who succeeded after a struggle to his father's power, and whose birth and alliance by marriage with his enemies the Pallavas, the possessors of the country south of the Nārbadá, are reproduced at Tha-htun in the dubious birth of Thi-há Rádzá from a dragon's egg, though he is brought up by the hermit Dzá-ya. The kings of the Chalukya dynasty who reigned for about five centuries, were of lunar race, and apparently worshippers of Vishnu.† The establishment of this family caused the flight and exile of numbers of Budhists, or quasi-Budhists, from the districts on the sea-coast of Talingána. On this point Sir Walter Elliot has made the following remarks in a communication with which he has favoured me. "There is no doubt, the intercourse between the east coast of India, and the whole of the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca, was far greater in former times than at present. It had attained its height at the time that the Budhists were in the ascendant, that is, during the first five

* See Numismatic Gleanings, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XX, Also, Indian Chronology, by J. Fergusson, Journal R. A. Society, 1869.

† The coins of these kings were stamped with the figure of a boar, and thence came to be called 'varáha mudra.' A large number of gold coins bearing this device, and with characters pronounced by Sir Walter Elliot to be an ancient form of Telugu, were found some years ago on the Island of Cheduba, on the coast of Arakan. They were probably of the fifth century. They were found not far from the sea shore disposed as if hidden by persons wrecked on the coast, or otherwise landing suddenly. They were not at all worn by usage. One of these coins was figured and described by Captain T. Latter, in Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. XV., p. 240.

“or six centuries of our era. The first great Buddhist persecution both checked it and also drove great numbers of the victims to the opposite coast. The Tamil and Telugu local histories and traditions are full of such narratives. When the Chalukya prince, brother of the king of Kalyán, was founding a new kingdom at Rájamahendri, which involved the rooting out and dispersion of the pre-existing rulers, nothing is more probable than that some of the fugitives should have found their way to Pegu. One Tamil MS. refers to a party of Buddhist exiles, headed by a king of Mandu, flying in their ships from the coast.”

The building of the city of Pegu in A.D. 573, by emigrants from Thah-tun under the princes Tha-ma-la and Wi-ma-la, together with the attempted occupation of the site by the representatives of the king of Bij-ja-ná-garan, have already been related and commented on. There appears no reason for doubting the general facts of the narrative ; and it may be admitted that the princes and people of Indian descent in Rámanya, while having causes for dissension among themselves, may have resisted the attempted establishment of a new dynasty from Talingána. But as has already been observed as regards the names of the early kings of Thah-tun, so the names of the actors in the scenes at Pegu, have probably been taken in after times from the chronicles of Talingána, or even of the modern state of Vijayanagar. The name Vimala occurs in the list of kings of the latter state so late as A. D. 1158. I have not found the name Thamala, but the term Malla as a surname occurs constantly among the Chalukya kings of the western line, commencing with Yuddha Malla in A. D. 680.

The early establishment of a colony, or city for trade, on the coast of Rámanya by settlers from Talingána, satisfactorily accounts for the name Taláing, by which the people of Pegu are known to the Burmese and to all peoples of the west. But the Peguans call themselves by a different name. It remains then to be inquired whether we can trace from what race they are descended ; whether, like the peoples around them—the Burmese, the Siamese, and the Karens—they belong to the Indo-Chinese family, a branch of the Mongoloids of Huxley, or come from another stock.

The people of Pegu, as has already been stated, call themselves Mun, Mwun, or Mon. Their original language has almost disappeared. It is probable that there are not now one hundred families in Pegu proper, in which it is spoken as their vernacular tongue. In the province of Martaban, however, including a part of Maulamyang, there are thousands who still speak the Mun language only. These are chiefly the descendants of emigrants who left Pegu in 1826, when the British army retired and occupied the Tenasserim territory. The Burmese, since the conquest of Pegu by Alompra (Alaung Phrá) in 1757-58, had strongly discouraged the use of the Mun language. After the war with the British, the language of the people

who had welcomed the invader, was furiously proscribed. It was forbidden to be taught in the Buddhist monasteries or elsewhere. The result has been that in little more than a century, the language of about a million of people has become extinct.*

In physical appearance, the Mun people are scarcely distinguishable from the Burmese. They are, however, shorter and stouter, and notwithstanding their more southern position, are generally lighter in complexion than Burmese of the same class. Indeed the higher classes of the Muns, and those whose callings in cities and towns do not involve much exposure to the sun, are much fairer than those of the same classes in upper Burma. This may be partly attributable to the large admixture of Shan blood from Zimmé and the adjoining states, which occurred at a comparatively late period of their history. But there are also climatic causes. For about six months of the year, the sky of Pegu is more or less obscured with clouds; and the habit of carrying umbrellas as a protection against sun and rain is much more common with the Taláings than among the Burmese. But the question of complexion among many Indo-Chinese tribes is certainly perplexing. Some of the Karen tribes in the mountains, especially the younger people, are not darker than southern Europeans; while those settled in the delta of the Eráwati, are much the same in that respect as the Mun people among whom they dwell. While then the physical characteristics of the Mun would lead us to class them with the Indo-Chinese around them, their language points to a different conclusion. I believe this peculiarity was first brought to notice by the Rev. Dr. Mason, Missionary to the Karen people. That learned man has, in his work on Burma, pointed out the remarkable similarity between the language of the Mun of Pegu, and that of the Horo or Mundá people of Chutiá Nágpúr, called the Kols. The first syllable of the word Mundá, which is used, as I understand, to designate the language of several tribes in the western highlands of Bengal, rather than as a tribal name, is identical in sound with the race name of the people of Pegu. The connection of the two peoples as shown by the similarity of their languages in a series of test words, has been commented on by the Honourable Mr. Campbell in a paper on the Races of India in the Journal of the Ethnological Society. We appear then to be forced to the conclusion, that the Mun or Taláing people of Pegu, are of the same stock as the Kols, and other

* There are, however, some thousands of the Mun people in Siam, who emigrated there towards the end of the 18th and in the early part of the 19th centuries, to escape the cruel rule of the Burmese. Descendants of Mun colonists from Tha-htun were heard of by Dr. Richardson, in April 1837, as being located on the northern frontier of the Karenni country. They were said to have been originally placed there by king Naurahtá, being a part of his captives. It would be interesting to know if their language remains unaltered.

aboriginal tribes of India, who may have occupied that country before even the Dravidians entered it. Csoma de Kőrös, in his Tibetan Dictionary, defines Mon as a general name for the hill people between the plains of India and Tibet. Assuming that a people having that name, once inhabited the eastern Himálaya region, and migrated to the south, we have now no means of tracing whether the Mun of Pegu came direct down the course of the Eráwati, or parting from their kinsmen the Kolarian tribes in the lower course of the Ganges or Brahmaputra, came through Arakan to their present seat. There appear now to be no indications of their presence, either in Arakan or in the country of the Upper Eráwati; though more careful inquiry into the languages of some of the wild hill tribes, between Arakan and Manipúr, might possibly show their track. The Dravidians of Talingána, who beyond all doubt came by sea to the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, probably a thousand years before the Christian era, found the Mun rude savages, who even some five centuries later, are called *bhílús*, or ogres. Yet the Dravidian colonists have been merged into the mass of that wild race. Their name indeed remains in the word Taláing, but it is known only to foreigners, and is not acknowledged in the language of the people. Though the alphabet used by the Mun is derived from an Indian source, through the Dravidians, there is probably little or no trace of the language of that race in the Mun tongue.

The city of Pegu having been founded, the historians of the Mun people thenceforth make it the centre round which the fortune of their race revolves. Thamala was consecrated king by the solemn ceremony of *bithé-ka*, or water poured on the body, and assumed the title of Mahimu Thamala Kummára. This king is stated to have built the city of Mutamau (Mutama, or Martaban), three years after the foundation of Pegu; and he founded other cities in the territory he reigned over. But after a reign of twelve years, his younger brother Wimala conspired against him and put him to death. Thamala left a son who then was seven years old. He was concealed by his mother and sent to a wild district in the hills, east of the Tsit-táung River, where he was brought up amidst a herd of wild buffaloes.

Wimala was consecrated king. In the third year of his reign, he built the city of Tsit-taung (Sittang). After he had reigned five years, in the year 590, A. D., the king of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran sent an army with seven ships, and a champion seven cubits high, to conquer Han-thá-wa-ti. It was agreed that the quarrel should be decided by a fight between two champions. The whole country was searched, but king Wimala and his nobles could find no one to meet the Kulá giant. At length appeared the lost prince, the son of Thamala, who now was sixteen years old. He fought and slew the giant. His uncle now offered to abdicate the throne; but he would not consent to reign, and again retired to the forest, east of the Tsit-táung River. There

he built the city of Ka-thá in the mountains. King Wimala died not long after, and the young prince then became king with the title of Kathá Kum-má. His reign was prosperous, but lasted only for seven years. Thirteen kings are represented as succeeding these founders of the kingdom, but the hereditary succession was broken by usurpers. The monarchy, however, gradually established its power over the whole country of Rámanya, from Puthin (Bassein) on the west, to Mutamau on the east. Tha-htun appears to have gradually declined, and remained merely as a city and sea port with little territory. The sixteenth king of Pegu, an usurper, is named Punnarika, or brahman-heart, which indicates religious strife as introduced at this time (A. D. 746). He is said, however, to have been eminently religious, and even to have listened daily to the preaching of the Buddhist Raháns. But he is represented as inclined towards the ancient Hindu traditions; for he built, or re-established, the city of Aramána, which is said anciently to have occupied the site of the present city of Ran-gun. He called this city Kámanágo, or city of Káma. At this time, says the Taláing historian, as if anxious to save the king's character as a Buddhist, the land of the Shwé Takun (Dagon) was not distinctly marked off, so that no impious encroachment was made. To the north of this city was built another, which was called Rámawati, now Mengaládun. This king died after a reign of fifteen years. Both his name and the occurrence of Ráma in the name of two cities he built, indicate an actual or attempted revival of Hinduism.

Punnarika was succeeded by his son Tiktha or Tissa, who was very different in his religious views, but who was at length converted and became a sincere believer. In the early part of his life, he was ensnared in the heretical doctrines of Dewadát, rejected the Bidagát, and would neither worship the pagodas, nor listen to the preaching of the Raháns, nor follow the learning of the Brahmans. Not content with this, he destroyed the pagodas, mutilated the holy images and flung them into the river; he prohibited by proclamation the worship of these or of holy relics, and threatened with the punishment of death all who should dare to disobey his decree. The people were dismayed, and remained helpless, but were rescued from peril by a miraculous occurrence. There was a young girl in the city of Han-thá-wa-ti, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, who had been religiously brought up by her mother, and from the age of ten years had listened to the preaching of the law. Badra Devi was sincerely devoted to the worship of the three treasures. She was sixteen years old when the order went forth to throw the holy images into the water. One morning, she went, as was her custom, surrounded by her attendants, to bathe in the stream, and seeing a golden image which had been flung into the water, she drew it out, saying, "Who has done this wicked deed?" The chief attendant replied, "Lady, the king has ordered this, and will put to death any one who worships the holy

“images and relics.” The maiden said, “I will devote my life to the three treasures, and will endure death rather than forsake them.” She then carefully washed the image, and set it up in a zayát which was close by. News of this was soon carried to the palace, and the king in a fierce rage called for Badra Devi. When the messengers arrived, the maiden was still employed in cleaning and decorating the holy image, and she entreated them to let her complete her pious work. Having finished, she then with her attendants proceeded to the palace. When the king heard the report of the messengers, he raged like a hungry lion at the sight of harmless animals. He ordered that the maiden should forthwith be trampled to death by a mad elephant. The master of the elephants having brought a mad one, the animal was urged on to crush the maiden. But she invoked the protection of the three treasures, and the seven good náts, while she prayed for blessings on the king, on the elephant, and on its driver. The elephant could not be made to hurt her. Again and again he was urged on with violence, but he would not obey. The king then ordered that she should be burnt with fire. She was thickly enveloped with straw, but the straw could not be kindled. The king then ordered that she should be brought before him. She appeared with becoming modesty and respect, while the king bawled out contemptuously, “Thou hast taken thy teacher’s image out of the water, and placed it in a zayát; if the image will fly through the air into my presence, I will spare thy life; but if not, thy body shall be cut into seven pieces.” Badra Devi begged to be allowed to go to the zayát, and respectfully to invite the holy image. She and her attendants therefore went, and certain nobles of the court were sent to watch them. The maiden prayed to the three treasures and the seven good náts, that the image might fly through the air to the king’s palace. Then straightway the image, the maiden, her attendants, and the nobles, were borne through the air to the royal feet. The king much astonished, said: “Let the Dewadát teachers fly through the air, so that all the people may see them.” But they could not do so. The king then believed the truth, and banished the false teachers from his country. Then asking the consent of her parents, he married Badra Devi, and she was consecrated chief Queen. The pagodas and other holy buildings were now repaired, and the people rejoiced greatly. King Tiktha reigned for twenty years, and with him closes the line of seventeen kings who represent the three native dynasties of Pegu.

A gap now occurs in the narrative of events which the native historians either have not attempted to bridge over, or have noticed with only a few general statements. In a preliminary sketch to the copy of the history which I possess, it is stated that the first seventeen kings, extending from the foundation of the city of Hantháwati to king Tiktha, reigned for a period of five hundred years. But in the detailed account of the reigns of those

kings, the sum of the years they are stated to have reigned, amounts to only two hundred and eight. The first part of the history then closes as if a great crisis had been endured. A new chapter is opened which simply states that the destinies of Hantháwati were accomplished; the line of kings broken; and the writer then bursts forth in lamentation over the rule of foreign Burmese kings and their hateful governors. Three of these are mentioned and reviled, and the narrative then passes on to events near the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, when Mongols and Turks overthrew the Burmese monarchy; Pugán was captured, and her king a fugitive. Supposing that the seventeen kings represent in some fashion the events of five hundred years, then the close of king Tikthá's reign would be about A. D. 1073. From that time until the capture of the Burmese capital by the Mongols, there is a period of about two hundred and eleven years, of which the Mun chroniclers say nothing, except the loss of their native kings, and the rule of three hated foreign governors. This hiatus is not peculiar to the manuscript history which I possess, but may be traced in others. Thus Dr. Mason from the copy which he followed, dates the foundation of Pegu A. D. 573 and the death of Tik-tha A. D. 841, but immediately after this, there is a blank of more than three hundred years. In Major Lloyd's Gazetteer of the District of Rangun, in which a list of the kings of Pegu is given from native records, this blank does not appear. But that is, because the foundation of Hantháwati has been post-dated to A. D. 1152, a year quite impossible to be reconciled with the histories of Burma, Tha-htun, and the subsequent history of Pegu itself. The cause of these great discrepancies arises from the Taláing historians having sought to conceal the religious revolutions in their country, during the ninth and tenth centuries, and to avoid narrating the conquest of their country by Anaurahtá, king of Pugán, about A. D. 1050, with its continued subjection to Burma for more than two hundred years. And it is strange that in the Burmese Mahá Radzá weng, though the conquest of Tha-htun is narrated at great length, nothing is said of the occupation of the city Hantháwati. Yet no doubt, the city was then taken by the Burmese king. Either then it was supposed that the capture of the ancient city of Tha-htun rendered special mention of Pegu unnecessary, or the chroniclers hesitated to record the first instance of the falsification of the legend, which in the cause of religion assigned to Pegu a perpetual succession of kings in the line of Thamala kumára. The Taláing historians have endeavoured to represent their country as having been uniformly orthodox Buddhist, while the records they present to us, show that there have been frequent alternations of Buddhism and Brahmanism. The names of the two last kings of the native dynasty, Punnarika and Tiktha, with the few notices we have regarding them, show that their reigns represent periods of religious strife between the two great sects, and

the attempted introduction of a form of worship antagonistic to both. Punnarika, or “brahman-heart,” sufficiently indicates the influence during one period ; while the name Tiktha, or Tishza, identical with that of the brother of Asoka, points to a corrupt Buddhism, and the re-establishment of that worship. This is typified in the pleasing legend of Badra Devi, and Buddhism has been the cherished religion of the people from that time until now.

From the time of Anaurahtá the history of Pegu becomes clearer. The measures of his successors in that country are constantly referred to in Burmese history. His son and successor Tsau-lú appointed his foster-brother Ra-mán Kán governor of Pegu. But he ungratefully rebelled, and marched with a large army of Taláings against Pugán. At first he was successful, but was at length killed. In the reign of A-láung-tsí-thu, which extended from A. D. 1085 to 1160, Bassein was the principal port of departure for Ceylon, with which island there was much communication. This king sent an army of one hundred thousand Taláings, to place the exiled son of the king of Arakan on the throne of his ancestors. From this time until near the final destruction of Pugán about A. D. 1277, or by one reckoning 1284, there is ample evidence that the Burmese were supreme in Pegu. During this period, the Shans had come down from Zimmé, and occupied the country east of the Than-lwin (Salwin) River. The time was at hand when they were to become supreme. With the capture of Pugán by the hordes of Kublai Khan, Pegu began to revive. The Burmese king called from his flight Taruk-pyé Meng, fled from his capital to Bassein, ready no doubt to embark for Ceylon if necessary. The Taruk did not follow, but left the country, and the king returned to his capital. But the Burmese monarchy was now tottering, and in the confusion which arose, the Taláing people found the opportunity to recover their independence, though under a foreign dynasty of kings.

The Mun chronicles thus relate the events which led to the re-establishment of the kingdom.

“Now at this time, the country of Hantháwati paid tribute to the “king of Pugán, and officers were appointed to rule these, and were relieved “in turn. A youth of Burman race, named Akhámwun, lived with his “father and mother near the city, and was placed for instruction in a “monastery, where he became a probationer. The Abbot soon perceived “that he was a youth of great ability, and judged that from the accumulation “of former merit, he would become a great man. After passing the grade “of a Thámané, he left the monastery, and married into a Taláing family. “Being appointed an officer in one of the royal boats, he in time took his “turn of duty at Pugán, where he attracted the attention of the king by “his zeal and energy, and was promoted to the command of the boat. One

“night he dreamed that he stood with one foot in Hantháwati, and one foot
 “in Pugán, which a Brahman interpreted to mean that he would become a
 “king. On the return of his boat to Pegu, he was careful in collecting
 “what was due from the people, to prevent extortion, and having become
 “popular through the help of his father-in-law, many of the merchants and
 “wealthy citizens joined him. His first care was to repair the city walls,
 “which had been suffered to go to decay. The king of Pugán hearing of
 “this plot, appointed his son-in-law Commander-in-Chief of an army to
 “reduce the city to obedience. This army was defeated, as well as a second,
 “and at last Akhámwun proclaimed himself king with the title of Thu-nek-
 “khautsá Rádzá.” These events occurred, it is stated, about the Burmese
 year 635, or A. D. 1273, but the dates given in the Mun chronicle are not
 to be depended on. Probably the Burmese usurper had at this time
 sufficient power to be practically independent; but it is not likely that he
 proclaimed himself king before the fall of Pugán, which, as we have already
 stated, was some years later.

Akhámwun no sooner was king than he belied all the promise of his
 former life, and by his tyranny became hated. He was at length put to
 death by his brother-in-law Leng-gyá, after he had reigned two years.
 Leng-gyá had possession of the palace for eight days, and was then killed
 by Akhyémwun, who was also a brother-in-law of Akhámwun. Akhyémwun
 was now consecrated king of Pegu with the title of Tarabyá.

At this time Muttama (Martaban) had become independent of Pegu.
 It was ruled by Wa-ré-ru, who had deposed the Burmese governor A-lim-ma
 and put him to death. The kings of Muttama and Pegu, feeling that they
 must combine, made an agreement of friendship, and each married the other's
 daughter. Taruk-pyé-meng, who was still king of Pugán, sent an army under
 Rádzá Then-gyán, to reduce Pegu to obedience. The king of Pegu occupied
 the stronghold of Than-lyeng (Syriam), and had a stockade at Ta-kun.
 The Burmese force was at Dala. The positions were all so strong, that
 neither party would make an attack. Waréru then came with an army to
 the assistance of his ally, and the two kings advanced by land and water
 against Dala. They were entirely successful, and after several actions, the
 Burmese were forced to retire. The allied kings followed the Burmese up
 the Eráwati as far as Padáung. They then returned and encamped at
 Makán, south of the city of Pegu. Here dissension arose between the two
 kings which ended in a fight. Tarabyá was defeated and fled. Wa-ré-ru
 at once marched, and took possession of the palace and capital. Tarabyá
 was captured by some villagers and delivered up as to his rival, who, at the
 intercession of the Buddhist monks, spared his life. Wa-ré-ru, now king of the
 whole country, did not choose to fix the seat of his government at Pegu,
 but after having settled the affairs of the country, returned to Muttama,

taking Tarabyá with him. The deposed king was soon after put to death for entering into a conspiracy.

Of the birth and parentage of Wa-ré-ru there are conflicting accounts. The history which I follow, relates that there was at Muttama a merchant of the name of Magadu who traded to the adjoining countries. To the east was the country of Thuk-ka-té, the name of the ancient capital of Siam, or the ancient seat of the royal family, situated on a branch of the river Menam. Magadu went to Thuk-katé, and entered the service of the king of that country. He either possessed a female elephant which gave birth to a white one, or he captured a white one in the forest, which he presented to the king. This was regarded as an omen of his future high destiny. On returning to Muttama, he raised a rebellion against Alimma, the Burmese governor, and put him to death.* After this, there is some obscurity in the narrative as to the fate of Magadu, and it might almost be supposed that he disappeared. But this arises from the respectful reserve of the chronicler, who refrains from stating distinctly that the *quondam* merchant Magadu became king of Muttama under the name of Wa-ré-ru. It is intimated that his great fortune resulted from the merit of his good deeds in former births. In fact, he was descended from one of the Nat-Bhílú who listened to the preaching of Budha, when he came to the wild region east of Tha-htun, instead of joining those who impiously drove him away. Thus he is claimed as a Mun by race, though it is probable that he was descended from a Shan family from the eastward, which had settled in the country of the lower Than-lwin (Salwin).

Wa-ré-ru was now king of Mut-ta-ma. He was anxious to possess a white elephant, which is the great object of the ambition of a Buddhist king, and especially of an usurper, as it is supposed to indicate his true royal descent. After much negociation with the king of Thuk-ka-té, or Siam, a white elephant was forwarded by that monarch. This occurred in the Burmese year 655 (A. D. 1293), six years after Waréru had become king. As the strength of his kingdom lay in the country of the Salwin, where the Shans had been settling for several generations, the king made Muttama his capital, though, as we have already seen, he had dethroned Tarabyá and occupied Pegu. The Taláing historians, however, as he did not reign in their ancient capital, do not include his name among the kings of Hantháwati.

After the fall of the ancient Burmese monarchy, the Shan chief A-theng-kha-yá, with his two brothers, ruled at Myin-tsáing what still remained of the empire. Having heard of the fame of Waréru's white elephant, he determined to possess it. He marched with an army to Muttama and demanded that the sacred animal should be delivered to him. This was refused,

* In the Burmese Mahá Rádzá weng, the year of Alim-má's death is said to have been A. D., 1281.

and in a battle which took place, the Shan-Burman army suffered a complete defeat. After this, the kingdom had peace for some years. But the two sons of Tarabyá, who were kept in the palace, conspired against Wa-ré-ru, and put him to death. They, however, had no supporters, and were obliged to fly. They took refuge in a monastery, but were dragged forth and killed. Their bodies were brought and laid at the feet of the king's body, and the three were burnt together. King Waréru died thus in the year 668, after a reign of nineteen years.

He was succeeded by his brother Khun-lau, whose first care was to solicit recognition of his title from the king of Siam. This was granted, and the regalia were forwarded to him with a suitable title. Not long after this, the king of Zimmé attacked Dunwun, a city on the east side of the Tsit-táung river, and plundered it. The king took no measures to defend his territory, and seeing that he was a man of no capacity and careless of the honour of his country, Meng Bala, who was married to his sister, conspired against him. He was persuaded to go out in the forest, under pretence of entrapping a wild elephant said to have three tusks. Having inveigled him into the thick depths of the forest, he was put to death after a reign of four years.

Meng Bala at first intended to seize the throne himself, but by the prudent advice of his wife, he made their eldest son, Dzáu-áu, king. The young king was married to a daughter of the king of Siam. But notwithstanding this alliance, he before long was involved in hostilities with La-bun, a small Shan state then tributary to Siam. He sent a force and occupied it in the year 682. In the following year, he marched an army under Khun-meng as Commander-in-Chief to take Dhawé (Tavoy). The city having surrendered, the general marched on to Tanengthári (Tenasserim), which he took without difficulty. He left garrisons and governors in both those cities, and then returned to Muttama with the remainder of his army. During the reign of Dzáu-áu, the country was prosperous. But the king's life was short, and he died after a reign of thirteen years. The kingdom of Muttama which included Pegu, had now become independent of Siam, and from the still disturbed state of Burma, it had nothing to fear from that country. But in this reign first commenced the quarrel between Pegu and Siam, which in long after years led to wars, terribly destructive to life, and which have been the main cause of the present depopulation of the country. The quarrel was continued, when Burma succeeded by conquest to the rights of Pegu, and lasted down to the early part of the present century.

The successor of Dzáu-áu was his brother, Dzáu-dzip, who, at his consecration, assumed the title of Binyaranda. This king, after consulting with his nobles, determined to change the seat of government to Hantháwati. He went there in great state leaving a governor and a sufficient garrison at

Muttama. Soon after reaching Pegu, he went to Takun (Rangun), repaired the great pagoda and made offerings. The governors of Puthin (Bassein) and Myoung-mya rebelled, but were soon overcome. Though the kingdom in the delta of Eráwati was thus consolidated, the southern provinces were lost, the king of Siam having retaken Dhawé and Tanengthári. Binyaranda, though unable to retain those distant possessions, thought the time was favourable for making an attack on Prome. That city has always been an object of keen contest between the kings of Burma, and Pegu. At this time, the chiefs of Shán descent who reigned in Burma, had not consolidated their power, and some subordinate chief, whose name is unknown, was supreme in Prome. Binyaranda went against that city with a considerable army, but he was repulsed and killed in the year 692 (A. D. 1330). In the confusion which arose on the king's death, an officer of the palace at Muttama, called Dib-ban Meng, seized the throne and made one of Binyaranda's daughters, named Tsanda Meng Hlá, his queen. He was, however, put to death by the Commander-in-Chief on the seventh day of his reign. For a few weeks also, a son of Dzáu-áu reigned with the title of Egán-kan, but by the influence of the queen who hated him, he was poisoned.

The person now called to the throne was a son of Khun-láu, who at this time was governor of Hantháwati; for, notwithstanding the change made by Binyaranda, the palace and seat of government seems to have been again at Muttama. Queen Tsanda Meng Hlá invited the governor to come and settle all disputes. He came to Muttama with a large retinue, and was at once consecrated king with the title of Binya-é-láu. Tsanda Meng Hlá became chief queen. The king of Siam was angered, because E-gán-kan was the son of his daughter, and he sent an army to avenge the death of his grandson. His army was completely defeated, and the two countries were now at deadly enmity. Though Muttama was now free from a foreign enemy, it suffered from a struggle between the king's son Tsau-é-lan and his nephew Binya-ú, a son of king Dzáu-dzip. While the king was lying sick, these young princes disturbed the country by their quarrel for the succession. The king recovered and placed Binya-ú in jail, but on the intercession of the queen, released him. Before long, his own son died, which left the succession undisputed. Binya-lau reigned eighteen years, and died in the year 710, A. D. 1348. His reign on the whole was prosperous, but it is noted as a bad omen that the white elephant broke one of his tusks; that a severe famine desolated the country; and that there were constant border frays with the Burmese on the northern frontier.

Binya-ú succeeded without any opposition, and assumed the title of Tsheng-phyú-sheng. After he had been on the throne for three years, an attack was made by the Yun Shans of Zimmé on Dun-wun and several towns in Tsit-táung. The country was plundered, but the enemy was at

last driven out. The king, anxious to possess a holy relic, sent a nobleman in a ship with five hundred followers, and a letter written on golden tablets to the king of Ceylon, to ask for a relic of Budha. The king of Ceylon, full of friendship and beneficence, granted the request, and placing the holy relic in a golden vase, which was enclosed in other vases, all carefully sealed up, delivered it to the Peguan envoy. It was brought to Muttama, where it was received with great pomp by the king. A pagoda was built for its reception at the spot where the Yun Shans had been defeated.* Notwithstanding this happy event, misfortunes began to gather round the king. The governor of Pegu rebelled. He was subdued; but the white elephant, in Buddhist phrase, ‘erred,’ that is, died; and the whole population, from the king to the peasant, clergy and laity, were in an agony of grief. For this portended dire misfortunes to the country. The white elephant received a grand funeral, the body being drawn by the people on a car beneath a royal canopy, outside the city where it was buried in the earth. “But one account,” adds the chronicler doubtfully, “is, that the elephant rose up from “the funeral car, and stalked majestically into the river, where the water “closed over it, and it was seen no more.” Some Karen people, not long after, reported that a white elephant had been seen in the forest, and the king, with his whole court and a large army, went to capture it. He was absent for four months, and during that time, his half brother or cousin, named Byát-ta-bá, raised a rebellion. The first intimation the king had of this event was from seeing a star strike at the moon. This was interpreted by his Brahman astrologer to mean rebellion. Returning hastily towards the city, the king heard that Byát-ta-bá had shut the gates, and that his brothers were levying men in the country outside, with whom they entered. The city was defended with cannon,† so that the king could not attack it, and the wives and families of the nobles who were in the royal camp, were inside the city. Many therefore deserted the king, and went over to the rebels. The king retired to Dunwun, and appointed his brother-in-law Thamin Byá-ta-bát, general against the rebels. He closely invested the city, so as to prevent supplies being carried into it. By an artifice of the wife of Byát-ta-bá, who sent a secret letter to him, pretending that she was on the side of the king, he accepted some dishes which she sent, and died from the effects of eating them. The whole of the investing army then fled. Another commander

* In the histories of Burma and Pegu, many instances are related of relics, or supposed relics, being brought to the country from Ceylon. The facts are gravely related, but nothing seems to be known of the relics afterwards, except the hairs of Budha which are enshrined beneath the Shwé Dagon, and are as freshly remembered and worshipped now, as they were two thousand four hundred years ago.

† This is the first mention of cannon in the history, about the year A. D. 1370. Nothing is said as to where they were procured from.

was then appointed ; but he was killed by a bullet almost immediately, and his army broke up and dispersed. The king now in despair shut himself up in Dunwun city, which was situated between Muttama and Tsit-taung.

Byát-ta-bá, though so far successful, knowing that many of the people of Muttamá were not well inclined towards him, sent a letter and messengers to the king of Zimmé, asking for assistance, and offering to hold Muttamá as his general and deputy. Hearing of this, Binya-ú seeing that his position was becoming desperate, himself sent messengers and presents to the king of Zimmé and offered one of his daughters in marriage. This was accepted ; the march of the Zimmé troops was stopped, and Binya-ú, though unable to recover what he had lost, was not disturbed at Dunwun. There he remained for six years. Byát-ta-bá in the meantime strengthened his position, and at length gained possession of Dun-wun by a stratagem. The king fled on an elephant almost alone, and came to the city of Pegu. This was in the year 732 (A.D. 1370), being the twenty-second of his reign. Byát-ta-bá had now firmly established himself in Muttamá, and to show his sympathy with the southern T'hái people, made his subjects shave their heads in the Siamese fashion. The only opposition to this order was shown in Dunwun.

Binya-ú now turned his attention to the districts of Pegu which were put in order, and walls were built round the chief cities. After a time, by tacit understanding, there was peace between him and Byát-ta-bá. The king caused the great pagodas, Shwé Maudau and Shwé Dagon to be repaired. His son Binya-nwé caused him much anxiety by his intrigues. The king wished one of his younger sons to succeed him, but did not formally appoint him heir-apparent. Binya-nwé finding his father under the influence of the queen against him, began to gather friends to support his interests. Having secretly engaged followers, he left the city at night and joined them. He took possession of the town and pagoda at Ta-kun, where he engaged the services of some western foreigners.* This was in the month Na-yun 745 (A. D. 1383), when there was an eclipse of the sun. The king was now too ill to make any exertions to uphold his authority, and all orders were issued by the queen. An army was sent against the prince, which he went out and defeated. He did not feel strong enough to attack the capital until he had collected a larger force. He then marched, and while on the way heard of the death of his father. This event stopped all resistance. Thamin Paru, the general who had been employed against him, attempted to escape, but was made prisoner and put to death. Binya-nwé ascended the palace in the month Tabodwé, 747, A. D. 1385.†

* Most probably Muhammadan adventurers from India or the Persian Gulf. They had been coming to this coast for many years past.

† In the Burmese history, this event is placed in the year 745. See *Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. XXXVII, for 1869.

The young king assumed the title of Rádzá-di-rít. He rewarded all those who had supported him, and put very few of his enemies to death. The queen had bitterly opposed him, yet, in remembrance of her care of him when he was a child, after his own mother's death, he now treated her with respect and honour. There was one powerful nobleman who had opposed him, and who was still unsubdued. This was Láuk-byá, the governor of Myáung-myá, who was of the royal family. He hated Rádzá-dirít, whom he denounced as no son of Binya-ú's, and was determined not to submit to him. He now caused the renewal of the struggle between Burma and Pegu, which had ceased for about a century, or since the fall of the Pugán monarchy, and which only ended in the entire subjection of Pegu about the middle of the eighteenth century.

At this time, Ava was the capital of Burma, and the king Tárabyá, though said to be descended from the ancient kings of Pugán, and also through his mother from the family of the three Shán brothers who succeeded them, was essentially the chief of a Shán dynasty. The king of Pegu belonged to a southern branch of the same race. Láuk-byá seeing that the king of Ava had subdued all his enemies, sent messengers to him, offering, if he were placed on the throne of Pegu, to hold it as a tributary king. The king of Ava therefore sent an army, composed of two columns under the command of his sons, to carry out this plan. One of these marched by the E-rá-wa-ti to Láing, and one by the Tsit-táung or Páung-láung River to Táungú. Both were defeated by Rádzá-dirít before Láuk-byá could arrive to support either, and they retreated to Ava. The history of Pegu states that the king of Ava accompanied his army on this expedition, but this does not agree with the Burmese history. The king of Pegu was sensible that his victory resulted more from the difficulties in the country which the Burmese army had to encounter, than from the superiority of the force he was able to bring against them. He, therefore, sent envoys to Ava with a letter and presents, hoping to establish friendship with the dreaded monarch. But the king of Ava remarked that the letter was a short one, and sternly replied that the Ta-láing country belonged to his ancestors, and would be recovered. The presents were scornfully rejected, and the envoys returned sorrowfully to their master. Thus the present king of Burma showed his determination to recover, if possible, all that had once belonged to the kings of Pugán; and Rádzá-dirít had nothing for it but to prepare for resistance. Láuk-byá addressed the king of Ava, excusing himself for not having appeared with a force to support the Burmese army, and again tendering his allegiance. When the season arrived, Tárabyá marched down the valley of the Eráwati, and as in the previous campaign, established himself at Láing. The king of Pegu was entrenched in a strong position at Máu-

bí, a few miles to the north of Ta-kún. This stockade the Burmese could not take, and were delayed so long before it, that the dreaded rainy season approached. They made a sudden retreat, which turned into a disorderly flight. The Mun army pursued them as far as Prome, but did not venture to attack that city. Being thus rid of the invader, the king determined to reduce to obedience those near him who were dangerous. He first directed his attention to the eastward. He attacked and took Dunwun, the chief of which city had been in communication with Láuk-byá. He next took Lagwunpyin, and from thence sent one of his officers to attack Muttamá. Byat-ta-ba does not appear to have remained in the city, which was defended by two officers having the foreign names of E-branun and U-lé.* They had several decked boats useful for service on the rivers and creeks, and did not wait to be attacked in the city, but fought a battle outside. The army of the king of Pegu suffered severely, but in a second action this check was retained, and the two commanders of the Mataban army, fearing to enter the city, fled in decked boats to the Kulá country. Byát-ta-bá appears to have accompanied them. The citizens at once submitted, and Rádzádirít coming to Muttamá appointed governors to it, and to Maulamyáing. These events occurred in the year 750 (A. D. 1388), and the king then returned to Pegu.

Rádzádirít now determined to attack Láuk-byá in Myáung-myá. He went against that place with a large force, but finding it too strong, he advanced against Pu-thin (Bassein), where Láuk-byá's three sons commanded. He attacked, but the foreign decked boats were armed with fire-arms, and the Pegu force lost many killed and wounded. The general was among the former. His body was brought away and buried by the king's command at the foot of the Ta-kun pagoda. The Pegu force retreated towards Myáung-myá. The Puthin force being very strong in boats, followed under the command of Láuk-shin, one of the sons of Láuk-byá, but suffered a defeat. The king remained at Dala to direct operations and a portion of Láuk-byá's force was destroyed; he himself was made prisoner and Myáung-myá surrendered. The king then pushed on to Pu-thin, and Láuk-shin put all his valuables on elephants, intending to join the king of Prome. But being intercepted, he crossed the mountains into Arakan, and went to Than-dwé. An army followed and demanded that he should be given up. The governor surrendered him, and he was made a pagoda-slave at the Shwé-dagun. His wife being of the royal family, was spared and sent to Muttama. This was in the year 752, A. D. 1390. The

* From the decked boats and the names of the commanders, which are probably Ibráhím and 'Alí or Walí, there evidently were foreigners in high command at this time. No mention is made of fire-arms in these operations, but immediately afterwards there is, in the account of the attack on Bassein.

king now beautified the city of Hantháwati. In the following year he collected a force at Pu-thin, with which he advanced against the city or fort of Ku-dwut on the frontier, which had been occupied by the king of Burma. The Burmese retired on his approach, and he strengthened the place. During his absence he suspected his eldest son of conspiring against him and had him put to death. The prince died protesting his innocence, and openly wishing that he might be born king of a neighbouring country to take his revenge for this injustice.

The king of Siam sent a white elephant and a letter, acknowledging Rádzádirít as being of the same race as himself. Soon after, the king of Ava came suddenly to attack the fort of Ku-dwut. An army was sent to support the garrison, and the king of Burma retired. Rádzádirít now had leisure to attend to the affairs of his kingdom.

The king of Ava, Meng kyí-tswá Tsau-ké, died, and was succeeded by his son Tsheng-phyú sheng. But he was soon after murdered, and his brother Meng Kháung was placed on the throne in the year 763. About this time, we learn from the histories of Arakan and Burma, that a quarrel arose between those two countries, though the causes are not distinctly stated. In the former it is related that, in the year 756 (A. D. 1394), the king of Arakan marched to attack the Burmese territory. But in the latter history, this event is placed in the year 765, which agrees better with the chronicles of Pegu.* From whatever cause this difference of date may have arisen, it is certain that, about the latter period, the king of Burma being engaged in a dispute with Arakan, and also, as the history of Pegu states, from discontent existing in the southern provinces, Rádzádirít thought he saw his opportunity to take revenge for the invasions of Meng kyí-tswá Tsau-ké. He assembled a large army, and a flotilla of boats to proceed by the Eráwati. There were four thousand boats of every description. The army moved partly by land and partly by water. The king himself left the city in the month Natdáu 766, A. D. 1404. He proceeded up the river, the army reached Prome, which was held for the king of Ava by Byan-khyi, one of the sons of Láuk Byá. The town was too strong to be attacked, and the king pushed on for the capital. By means of his large flotilla and army combined, he was able to invest the capital, but could make no impression on the walls. Rádzádirít had full command of all the country outside the city, and even sent a strong detachment up to Tagáung, the ancient capital. Probably he found himself in a difficulty and was glad to retire, but the history states that he did so in compliance with the representations of an eloquent Buddhist monk. He built a monastery at Shwé-kyet-yet, near Ava,

* See History of Arakan, Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal, for 1844; and History of the Burma Race, Vol. XXXVIII. for 1869.

with materials obtained by breaking up some of his boats; but this was afterwards burnt by order of Meng Kháung. The king on his way down the river was much annoyed by the Burmese troops; and on reaching Tsalé, he heard that his daughter who had accompanied her husband on the expedition, had been taken prisoner. At first in his rage he determined to attack Prome, but his general Amát Din pointed out that the army was disordered and required rest. He, therefore, proceeded down to Pegu. Arrived at Dala, he put to death Tsáu-ma-shet, his son-in-law, who had fled when his daughter was captured. The king then returned to the city. But his anger had not subsided. No sooner was the rainy season at an end, than he gathered his forces, and advanced up the river. Determining to reduce Prome, he established his headquarters on the western bank of the river. Having defeated a Burmese force near the city, he posted three regiments on the ground to the north, on the Naweng River, in order to prevent any relief arriving. But the king of Ava was now marching down with a large army. Rádzádirít was urged by his general to withdraw the three detached regiments; but he was persuaded by others to let them remain intrenched where they were. They were attacked and utterly overwhelmed by king Meng Kháung, who then relieved Prome. But though the king of Ava was thus successful, the king of Pegu by means of his flotilla cut off his supplies by river, and destroyed the towns and villages on the banks as far as Magwé and Malun. Meng Kháung then proposed that they should make peace, and presents and friendly messages were exchanged. They swore friendship at the great pagoda of Prome, and the boundary of their kingdoms was fixed a little to the south of the city. Yet notwithstanding this agreement, the king of Ava took offence at a Taláing garrison being left at a post on the frontier, and before long began to take measures for disturbing Pegu. He desired to attack Arakan, and to prevent the king of Pegu from interfering, sent a letter to the king of Zimmé, requesting him to march an army to the frontier of Tsit-taung. This letter was intercepted, and the bearers of it were put to death. The king also knowing that preparations were being made for a march into Arakan, sent an army to Pu-thin (Bassein), to be ready for whatever might be required. The Burmese army marched into Arakan, and the king of that country fled to Bengal.* His son Na-ra-mit-hlá came south to Thandwé, and communicating with Rádzádirít crossed to Pu-thin. The king then promised to support him, and sent on his army to Thandwé. Ká-ma-rú, the son-in-law of Meng Kháung, had been appointed governor of Arakan, with the title of Anau-ra-htá. He was at the

* This event is stated in the history of Arakan to have occurred in the reign of Meng-tsáu-mwun in the year 768, A. D. 1406. See History of Arakan, A. S. Bengal, for 1844.

capital in the northern part of the kingdom. The Taláing army marched there, the Arakanese Prince accompanying it. Kámarú fled from the capital, but he was taken prisoner with his wife and family, and sent to Bassein, where Rádzádirít still was. As his father-in-law had broken the treaty without cause, he was put to death, and his wife, the daughter of the king of Ava, was made one of the queens. Prince Na-ra-mit-hlá was placed on the throne of Arakan, and the Taláing army returned.

During these transactions Meng Kháung had been employed in putting down a rebellion among the Shans of Bamáu and other states. When he heard that his son-in-law and daughter were prisoners, he assembled an army, chiefly Shans from Kalé and Monyin, and moved on Pegu. He marched by the Ra-mé-then route, and thence down the valley of the Paung-láung. Rádzádirít collected an army to meet the enemy at the frontier of his kingdom. The Taláings met with a defeat, and were forced to abandon a fortified post at Tha-kyin, where they had much rice stored. Rádzádirít retreated to Pan-gyán. The Burmans as they advanced burnt all the villages, and the Taláings harassed the enemy by cutting off his foraging parties. When the seat of war reached the low country where the tides prevail, the Shans unaccustomed to them became bewildered, and a large body of them being inveigled on to a sand bank in the river, was suddenly overwhelmed in the rising water. This success, and reinforcements which reached Rádzádirít from Bassein, encouraged the Taláings, and the Shan army began to suffer from the want of supplies. King Meng Kháung, by the advice of his officers, thought it prudent to negotiate. He, therefore, wrote a letter adverting to his daughter being with Rádzádirít, and proposing that his son should marry a daughter of the latter. But the king of Pegu knew that the Burmese army was in distress, he therefore returned a rough answer. Several messages passed, and a personal meeting was agreed to. The king of Pegu had determined to seize his enemy, and Meng Kháung at the last moment, suspecting treachery, turned back. La-gwun-in, a Taláing officer, now undertook to capture the king of Burma. By a sudden night attack he penetrated to the tent of the king, and even possessed himself of the royal sword and pán box. Meng Kháung escaped by an accident, and now being thoroughly alarmed commenced a retreat. He was followed to the frontier by the Taláing army, after which Rádzádirít returned to his capital in triumph. But though thus successful, he deemed it expedient to enter into an alliance with the king of Ava. He, therefore, sent him a letter full of friendly words with presents, and asked for his sister in marriage. After some delay this was agreed to. The princess Wimála Devi went down the river in a royal boat, and was received by Rádzádirít at Ta-kun (Rangun), where the marriage was solemnized. But this alliance was of no avail to

preserve peace. Not long after, prince Thid-dát, brother of Meng Kháung, conspired against the king, and being discovered, fled to Pegu. There he was received with distinction, and he induced Rádzádirít to withhold an annual gift of thirty elephants, which he had promised to send to Ava. Meng Kháung, enraged at this breach of faith, determined at once to attack Pegu. In vain his ministers represented that the rainy season was at hand, and a campaign in Pegu hazardous. The king would brook no delay. Pushing on heedlessly at the head of a body of cavalry, he was suddenly attacked by the Taláing general, with whom was prince Thid-dát. The king of Ava was entirely defeated, and escaping from the field with difficulty, retreated to his own country. Rádzádirít enraged that his enemy had eluded his grasp, for Thid-dát had promised to capture his brother, put the prince to death. The king of Ava made another attack after the rainy season of 767 (A. D. 1405), but it was unsuccessful. At this time it is stated that Rádzádirít had some Europeans in his service.

A more formidable invasion was now preparing than any yet hurled against Pegu. The army was placed under the command of the king's son, Meng-ré-kyau-tswá, who was now seventeen years of age. The story of the marvellous birth of this young prince is told without any doubt of its truth. At the time when Rádzádirít was employed in the Myoung-myá district against Láuk-byá, he suspected, as has already been mentioned, that his son Báu-láu-kwon-dáu, who was at the capital, was conspiring to usurp the throne. He caused him to be put to death. But the young prince was innocent, and in dying invoked the powers of nature, that he might be born again in a neighbouring kingdom, and revenge his unjust death on his father and his country. Transmigrating, he was born of one of the wives of Meng Kháung, and from marks indicating future greatness received the name of Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá.* Now in the year 768,† he was appointed to command the invading force, which by land and water numbered twenty thousand men. The prince proceeded down the Eráwati and entered the Bassein District, where he captured a stockade which had lately been built at De-ba-thwé. At this time Rádzádirít was detained at Muttama, which was threatened with an attack by the Shans of Zimmé. The prince next attacked Myoung-mya, which was so well defended, that he was obliged to retire. He also failed against Bassein and Khé-báung. The following year he marched across the hills into Arakan. The king of that country, Naramit-hlá fled, and the prince ap-

* The same story is told in the Burmese history. See Jour. A. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XXXVIII.

† Year 772, by the Burmese history.

pointed governors to Arakan* and Thandwé, and then returned to Ava. The danger from the Shans of Zimmé having passed, Rádzádirít returned to his capital. As Naramit-hlá was the hereditary king of Arakan, the king of Pegu determined to restore him. He sent a force which occupied Thandwé. They then heard that the king of Arakan had fled to Dacca. The Burmese prince now returned with an army to retake Thandwé, but by a false report of a large army approaching, retired. Soon after, a relieving force did arrive from Muttama, and the commanders who had held Thandwé, pushed on to the capital of Arakan, which the Burmese governor abandoned and fled.

At this time Prome was held for the king of Ava by a son-in-law of Láuk-byá. Rádzádirít thought there was an opportunity to take the place, as the prince of Ava was engaged against the chief of Thein-ni. He advanced up the river in the month Nát-dáu, 774 (A. D. 1412), but was almost immediately recalled by news of Muttama being threatened by an attack from Siam. He at once returned with a part of his army, leaving his son Binya Pathin as Commander-in-Chief. That officer deemed it prudent to retire from Prome. He, therefore, stockaded himself at Tha-lé-tsi, on the west bank of the river. The king of Ava soon arrived with an army at Prome, and a month later Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá joined him. They made an attack by land and water on the fort at Tha-lé-tsi. But the Taláing garrison had firearms in abundance, and destroyed numbers of the enemy, and the rest were driven back in confusion. The Burmese king then blockaded the work. King Rádzádirít approached with an army, and it was agreed to have a fair fight between two war boats, one on either side. La-gwun-in commanded the boat on the Taláing side, but he was overcome and killed by a treacherous attack from four Burmese boats, under Meng-ré-kyau-tswá. After this, the king of Pegu commenced a retreat. The Burmese prince followed by water and attacked the Taláing flotilla near Tarukmáu. Both sides suffered severely, but Rádzádirít hastened the retreat of his army by land and water, and himself went on ahead with his body-guard. The Burmese army followed, and, entering the delta, successively occupied Dala, Ta-kun, Than-lyeng, and Mháubi. Rádzádirít entrenched himself at Kha-má-byín. For several months the two armies were engaged in various combats until the Taláing army gained a victory over Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá. The Burmese army then retreated.

In Arakan the Taláing commanders having heard that their king had suffered a defeat, evacuated that country, and brought their army to Bassein. Rádzádirít suspected that one or both of these officers had been bribed by the king of Ava. One of them was put to death, but the other

* In the history of Arakan this event is recorded in the year 768.

was promoted. The king of Pegu now repaired the defences of his principal towns and cities.

When the rainy season had passed, a Burmese force once more came down by land and water. It consisted of not less than 100,000 men, 300 elephants, and 3000 horses. The king of Arakan who had been placed on the throne of that country by Meng Kháung, appeared as commander of one of the divisions. The Prince Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá, who was Commander-in-Chief, proceeded down the Bassein River and took Khé-báung by storm, in the month Tabodwé, 775 (A.D., 1413). The Taláings, however, determined to hold out in every place, and one of the king's sons had his head-quarters at Pan-go. Their superiority in boats enabled them to intercept the communications of the Burmese, and to cut off their supplies. The king of Táung-ú marched down with a force to create a diversion, but was met and checked on the frontier. The prince of Ava, though long inactive at Khé-báung, at length left it and proceeded towards Pan-go. The Taláings dared not attack him. He fought an action partly on land and water, and defeated the Taláing army, taking prisoner Tha-min pa-rán. The prince then proceeded to attack Bassein, but after losing many of his men, was obliged to retire. He proceeded next to Myoung-mya hoping to take it, but failed. He then went up to Ava taking with him many prisoners of importance, whom he presented to his father. He then married, and brought his wife Sheng-meng-hlá down to Pegu. He at once proceeded to attack Dala. He did not succeed, but the stars according to the astrologers were so adverse to Pegu, that Rádzádirít retired with all his family to Muttamá. The Burmese prince hearing that the Taláing general Amát-din had left Bassein, suddenly appeared before that city, the governor of which surrendered. Indians and Europeans are mentioned as being in the garrison. The prince then went to Myoung-mya, which also surrendered, and having built some decked boats proceeded to attack Than-lyeng. It was defended by Binyarán, a son of the king's, and the attack failed. The prince then returned to the entrenched position he had established not far from Dala, and closely invested the Taláing force there. At this time, the king of Ava was attacked by a Chinese army, and the dispute was settled by a duel between a Chinese champion and the Taláing officer Thaminparán who had been taken prisoner, as already related.* Dala was gallantly defended by the Taláings, though they were starving. The king of Pegu recovering from his alarm returned to his capital and determined to relieve Dala. As he approached, the Burmese prince drew off his force, and the king sending a few men into the city, followed the prince's army. Several days of skirmishing occurred, and at length when the Burmese head-quarters were

* See History of Burma, Jour. A. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XXXVIII. for 1869.

at Tsha-bé-tsha-kán, the prince prepared for battle. He gave his elephant three cups of spirit and drank some himself, then remarking to his wife that the cry of the *sarus* which he heard was a good omen, he went forth. In the battle which ensued, the prince received a mortal wound, and his army fled. Rádzádirít ordered that he should be buried with royal honours. The Burmese army now retired, and, on the retreat, the Prince's wife Sheng-meng-hlá was taken prisoner. It is said that king Meng Kháung himself came down to Dala and was shown the spot where his son's bones had been buried. He then had them put into a golden vase and sunk them at the mouth of the river. Again in the following year 776, (A. D. 1414) he came with an army, but though he defeated and took prisoner Binya Tsek, one of the king's sons, the expedition failed, and he returned to Ava. This was the last invasion of Pegu during the reign of Rádzádirít. Both nations were exhausted by the destructive wars they had waged. King Meng Kháung died five years later, and Rádzádirít devoted himself to religion and good works for the rest of his days. He opened communication with the king of Ceylon, whose daughter he married, and from whom he received a tooth relic which was enshrined in a pagoda 186 cubits high. He also repaired the Shwé máu-dáu pagoda, to which he gave a new hti. Though no longer active, he one day went out into the jungle to capture a wild elephant. When throwing the noose, he received a blow from the animal which broke his leg, and he died before he could be brought home. This was the end of Rá-dza-di-rít, in the year 783 (A. D. 1421).

No. 1.—*List of the kings of Suvarna-Bhumi, or Tha-htun, from the native chronicles.*

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Thi-ha Rá-dzá. | The first king. He died the |
| 2 Thiri Dhammá Thauka. | year Gautama entered Nirvana, |
| 3 Titha. | B. C. 543. |
| 4 Dhammá Pá-la. | |
| 5 Dham-ma dhadza. | |
| 6 Eng-gu-ra. | |
| 7 Uba-de-wa Meng. | |
| 8 Thí-wa-rít. | |
| 9 Dzau-ta-kummá. | |
| 10 Dham-má Thau-ka. | |
| 11 Uttara. | |
| 12 Ká-tha-wun. | |
| 13 Mahá-thá-la. | |
| 14 A-ra-ka. | |
| 15 Na-ra-thú-ra. | |
| 16 Ma-há-Bad-da-ra. | |

- 17 A-da-ra.
- 18 An-gu-la.
- 19 U-run-na-ta.
- 20 Mahá Thuganda.
- 21 Thuganda Rádzá.
- 22 Brahmadát.
- 23 Manya Rádzá.
- 24 A-di-ka.
- 25 Ma-rá-di Rádzá.
- 26 Tha-du-ka.
- 27 Dham-ma bi-yá.
- 28 Thu-da-thá.
- 29 Dip-pa Rádzá.
- 30 A-thek-ka Rádzá.
- 31 Bhum-ma Rádzá.
- 32 Man-da Rádzá.
- 33 Ma-hing-tha Rádzá.
- 34 Dham-ma tsek-ka-ran.
- 35 Thu-tsan ba-di.
- 36 Bad-da-ra Rádzá.
- 37 Na-ra-thú Rádzá.
- 38 Tsam-bú-dí-pa.
- 39 Ke-tha-rít Rádzá.
- 40 Wi-dza-ya Kum-má.
- 41 Ma-ni Rádzá.
- 42 Tek-ka meng
- 43 Ku-tha Rádzá.
- 44 Dip-pa Rádzá.
- 45 Na-ra Rádzá.
- 46 Rá-dzá Thúra.
- 47 Tsit-ta Rádzá.
- 48 Di-ga Rádzá.
- 49 Ut-ta-ma Rádzá.
- 50 Thi-ri Rádzá.
- 51 Dham-ma Rádzá.
- 52 Má-há Tsit-ta.
- 53 Gan-da Rádzá.
- 54 Dzé-ya Rádzá.
- 55 Thu-ma-na Rádzá.
- 56 Man-da-ka Rádzá.
- 57 A-min-na Rádzá.
- 58 U-din-na Rádzá.
- 59 Ma-nú-ha Meng.*

* Manúha (No. 59) was king of Tha-htun when the city was taken and destroyed by Anau-rahtá, king of Pugán, about the year A. D. 1050.

No. 2.—*List of the Kings of Pegu from the foundation of the city.*

	NAMES OR TITLES OF KINGS.	Commencement of reign.		Length of reign — years.	Relationship of each succeeding king.	REMARKS.
		Year of religion	A. D.			
1.	Mahimu Thamala Kumára, ...	1116	573	12	...	Came from Thahtun to build the city of Pegu.
2.	Wimala, ...	...	585	7	Brother.	
3.	Kathá Kum-má, ...	...	592	7	Nephew.	
4.	Mahimu Arinda Rádzá, ...	...	599	7	Son.	
5.	Mahintha Rádzá, ...	...	606	17	Son.	
6.	Geinda Rádzá, ...	...	623	12	Brother.	
7.	Mahimu Mig-ga dib-ba Rádzá, ...	...	635	15	Son.	
8.	Gits-tsa-wi-ya, ...	...	650	10	Son.	
9.	Kara-wi-ka Rádzá, ...	...	660	12	Son.	
10.	Tsan-da-la Rádzá, ...	...	672	13	...	Relationship not stated.
11.	At-ta-thá Rádzá, ...	...	685	15	...	Ditto
12.	Anuma Rádzá, ...	...	700	12	Son.	Usurper.
13.	Mahimu Mig-ga-dib-ba ngé, ...	...	712	10	...	
14.	Mahimu Egga Thamanda Rádzá, ...	...	722	12	Brother.	
15.	Uba-ma-la Rádzá, ...	...	734	12	Son.	
16.	Pun-na-ri-ka Rádzá, ...	...	746	15	...	Relationship not stated.
17.	Thamin Tik-tha, Titha, or Tissa Rádzá, ...	...	761	20	Son.	From this time a blank of about five hundred years occurs in the annals of Pegu, during which the names of no native kings are enumerated. The two last kings in this list probably represent two periods, the religious ascendancy, or religious strife, of Brahmanists and Budhists, extending over about three hundred years. The close of Titha's reign would then synchronize with the conquest of Pegu and Tha-htun by Anaurahtá about A. D. 1050, when Pegu became subject to Burma for about two hundred and thirty years.

(To be continued.)

Postscript to Bábu RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA'S Paper on Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India.

It has been stated on page 7, that a "fatted calf" was once slaughtered for the entertainment of Ráma, but no notice has been met with of his having been offered any liquor. I find, however, that he was not averse to drinking. The following extract from the last book of the Rámáyana shows that he and his exemplary wife, Sítá, were as much given to drinking as other people of their time. The passage runs thus: 'Embracing Sítá with both his hands, Kákutstha (Ráma) made her drink pure Maireya wine, even as Indra makes Sachí partake of nectar. Servants quickly served flesh-meat variously cooked, and fruits of different kinds for the use of Ráma. Hosts of Apsaras, proficient in singing and dancing, and accomplished and handsome damsels, exhilarated with wine, danced and sang for the entertainment of Ráma and Sítá.' It is said that it was the usual every-day practice of Ráma, to devote his evenings to this feasting and musical entertainment as a fitting sequel to his onerous regal duties of the forenoon.

* सीतामादाय बाहुभ्यां मधु मैरेयकं शुचि ।
 पाययामास काकुत्स्थः शचीमिन्द्रो यथामृतं ॥ २१ ॥
 मांसानि च सुमृष्टानि विविधानि फलानि च ।
 रामस्याभ्यवहारार्थं किङ्करास्तर्षमाहरन् ॥ २२ ॥
 अप्सरोगणसङ्घास्य नृत्यगीतविशारदाः ।
 दक्षिणारूपवत्यश्च स्त्रियः पानवशं गताः ॥ २३ ॥
 उपानृत्यन्त रामस्य सीताया हर्षवर्द्धनाः ।

On page 11 the word "reference" at the end of line 1 should be read "references," and "won over over" at the beginning of line 28, should be "won over." On page 13, "especially" at the beginning of line 14, should be "especial."

